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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'.

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army.

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples.

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian

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volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

* * *

During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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The Yugoslavs of Austria aimed at the dismembering of the Dual Monarchy and at the total emancipation of the Slav populations living under its sway. But they found themselves prevented from conducting a policy of integral Slavism, by the caution which the war-map forced them to observe with regard to Russia [2] and to Italy, owing to the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and the Macedonian problems, and even by the difficulties encountered at the outset of the negotiations between Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, for the formation of a single Yugoslav state.

There were, however, some attempts at understanding among the various emigrations, especially between the Polish National Committee (Dmowski, Paderewski), the Czechoslovak National Council (Masaryk, Benes, Stefánik) and the Yugoslav Committee (Troumbich, Hinkovich). These contacts lasted until the Peace Conference. But they never led to the elaboration of a programme, or of any organic agreement.

The Dual Monarchy, moreover, did not lack support among its Slav nationals. Stiepan Radich, a Russophile, a hundred per cent Slav and a poet into the bargain, addressed a rhymed call to arms against the Tsar to his brothers of Austria and of Hungary:—

> '. . . All persecuted, even to the shedding of blood, by the East,
> All having received their Faith from Rome,
> All having their fields bathed by the Danube'.

It is true that this same Radich, when things went badly for the Central Empires, reassured his friends, anxious about the fate reserved for Croatia: 'Have no fear', he said, 'nothing can happen to you as long as Russia exists'. This guileless inconsequentiality is rather reminiscent of the whole history of Slavism, adapted by each nation to the daily round of its own politics. Even the war made no change in this behaviour. Russia disappointed her Serbian ally by signing the London Pact, which stupidly dismembered the Dalmation coast, to the advantage of Italy, through ignorance of the fact that there were

[2] A slight incident will show how much the latter had remained attached to her prejudices. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1916, the divisions of Serbian and Croat volunteers in Russia arranged for a religious service, at which prayers were recited for all Christians, 'Orthodox and non-Orthodox'. The Russians did not hide their disapproval, and declared this initiative to be 'not very liturgical'.

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

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The Third Panslav Congress opened in Moscow on May 9, 1943. Two thousand people assembled—authors, artisans, soldiers, partisans, priests of the Eastern rites. There were seen, side by side, the Soviet General Alexander Gondorov, the Czech Colonel Svoboda, the Colonel of the Polish 'Kosciuszko' Division, Sigmund Berling, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicolas. Once more the union of all the oppressed Slavs was urged; the Czechs were invited to evade the total mobilisation which the Germans were organising in their country. Already the partisans were everywhere at work; the Soviet victories guaranteed the triumph of the common cause. The Congress voted messages to Stalin, to Churchill, to Roosevelt, to all the Slavs in the world. 186* 668

In the month of July,[1] an exhibition in Moscow showed specimens of the independent Slav press—of more than a hundred reviews and newspapers which were then appearing in the United States, in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine. 186* 204

The Panslav Committee held its sixth full Assembly in Moscow on October 16 and 17, 1943. It voted congratulations to the Red Army, to the Yugoslav partisans, to the first Czecho-Slovak Brigade in Russia—which was about to leave for the front—to the Union of Poles (since October 12 the Kosciuszko Division had been in the firing line). The Czech Zdenek Mejedli, Professor of Musical Art in Prague, spoke of the reconstitution of Czechoslovak unity; the Metropolitan Nicolas told of the German Army's atrocities on Russian territory; the Academician Derjavin recounted the exploits of Russian military history—the defeat inflicted by Alexander Nevsky on the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the prophecy of the victor, 'He who attacks us with the sword will perish by the sword', which, for seven centuries, was the watchword of the Russians; the crushing of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410; Frederick's defeat in the Seven Years' War (Jagersdorf, Kunersdorf) which carried the Muscovite troops to Berlin; the failure of the German adventure in Ukraine in 1918. 186* 668 575

'We see', Derjavin was to write, 'the Slavonic peoples' hatred of the Fascist invader grow under our eyes. . . . One single front of national revolt unites the Slavs against Hitlerism in the name of the defence of liberty, of political independence, of civilisation and honour'.

1 [1943 -- Analyst]

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Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America

among whom the attitude of a part of the population, Polish in origin, maintained a dangerous schism—was revived by a mission sent to Moscow, at the end of 1946, with M. Leon Krycky, Leader of the United States Panslav Congress, as its President; he was received by Stalin. The latter is reported to have declared to him that the Soviet Union and the United States were the only two countries capable of guaranteeing world peace. This was the outcome of the Third Congress of Slavs in North America (held in New York on the previous September 23), during which the meeting had cheered the name of Stalin and booed that of Mr. Byrnes, who had recently, in Stuttgart, made a speech reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers.[1] At this meeting the Polish delegate, M. Lange, emphasised the role the Slavs could play as permanent links between the United States and their countries of origin. But this American-Slav Congress failed in its task; prepared during the Roosevelt era, but actually meeting under the Truman administration, it functioned in a very different atmosphere from that which its organisers had anticipated. It was vigorously attacked by a section of the American press.

After a preparatory Conference of the Panslav Committees, held in Prague in May, 1946, the first great post-war Panslav Congress took place at the Kolarats University, in Belgrade, from December 8 to 12 of the same year. It was attended by delegates from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Serbs of Lusatia, and the Slavs of North America.

Its organisers made very marked efforts to prevent the Congress from assuming the aspect of a demonstration of Slav nationalism. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits which could accrue to the cause of peace and universal democracy from harmony among the Slav States. Consequently the agenda was restricted to very general questions, bound up with cultural propaganda and the struggle against Fascism. Alexander Gundorov, President of the Moscow Panslav Committee, and a veteran of these assemblies, declared that 'the Congress would reveal to the world the truth about the Slavonic peoples and destroy the lies propagated by reactionary circles

[1] This Congress gave rise to a diplomatic incident, arising out of the refusal of the American visa to eight Yugoslav delegates who owed allegiance to the Communist Party.

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186* 829 648 sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about brotherly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic, federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance: without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* 668 [575] A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Gos. Izd., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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was formulated in *The Scientific Dictionary*, a Czech Encyclopedia.[64] The article referring to Panslavism is very reserved. The speculations of the Muscovite Slavophils on the item of Hussism as a purely Slavic movement which presumably had its ties with Slavic Orthodoxy did not appear very convincing to the Czechs.

In general, the Prague Congress of 1848 reduced the Panslavic tendencies to a formula of political organization of Austria which would satisfy the national political demands of the Slavs. In this way was developed a special Austrian Panslavism directed against Russia and later called Austroslavism. The same trends might be discovered in the so-called "Slavic Union" in the Vienna Parliament of 1908. However, under the leadership of the Czech Kramař there developed at the same time the so-called neo-Slavism, which stressed the political solidarity of all Slavic nations on the condition of complete cultural equality, but which certainly contained pro-Russian tendencies. The movement was created in 1908 at the Slav Congress in Prague, followed by a Congress in Petersburg in 1909 and one in Sofia in 1910. There took place only vague and very general formulations of Slavic mutual respect, sympathy, and efforts to calm the inter-Slavic antagonisms —Russian-Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Serbo-Bulgarian, and so on. In spite of the participation in this movement of several important political leaders among the Slavs, it did not reach any concrete results. Most Poles and Russians very soon abandoned it. The War of 1914 brought again to the fore ideas of Slavic union, proclaimed this time by representatives of Russian public opinion and by the Russian government. I should also mention the outstanding activity aiming at spiritual and intellectual collaboration among the Slavs of the brilliant Polish scholar, thinker, and writer Marian Zdziechowski, who established his Slavic Club in Cracow with its review *The Slavic World* before the War of 1914 and who entertained close relations with the Russian sympathizers of these trends, about whom I shall speak below.

[64] Quoted by Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

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186* Almost at the same time there reappeared in Russia a spiritual,
●575 idealistic, mystic approach to the Slavophil conceptions. It was a kind of continuation of neo-Slavic trends. One may find in the writings of distinguished and honest politicians, poets and writers such as V. I. Ivanov, S. N. Bulgakov, and Prince E. N. Trubetskoy items connected with this idealism and mysticism. These trends reappeared during the War of 1914. They were preceded by the old Muscovite "Society of Slavic Reciprocity" which was a quite honorable institution and by the subsequent "Society of Slavic Culture" in which the progressive elements among Russian and Polish politicians and scholars met, such as Professor Korsh, Prince E. N. Trubetskoy, Alexander Lednicki, and some others. The aim of this society was to pacify inter-Slavic relations primarily by the help of cultural activities.[65]

186* Some of the Czechs belonging to the period preceding neo-Slavism, however, remained faithful to their pro-Russian feelings in face of the opposition of Palacký and Havlíček. So Kollár, who even in his *Slávy Dcera* excluded Emilia Plater, the Polish heroine of 1830-31, from paradise "because this sister fought against brothers, a Slav girl against Slavs," and yet, as Kucharzewski observes, granted a place in that paradise to Suvorov and Nicholas I, behaved quite disgustingly at the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, where in the absence of the Poles he did his best to please their Russian persecutors.[66]

186* Thus the Bohemian Panslavism found practically no expression
814 in the nineteenth century other than a purely scientific one—in the fields of Slavic archaeology, Slavic ethnography, Slavic philology, and Slavic history. I can devote no space to Slavic philology here, but I should like to stress the enormous achievements in this field of, besides the Czechs, Polish, Russian, and Serbian scholars, to whom should be added German, French, Italian, Eng-

[65] Details connected with neo-Slavism, with events preceding the First World War, the policy of Izvolsky, the activities of Count Bobrinskoy on one hand—and on the other, activities of people such as Dmowski among the Poles the attitude of the Ukrainians, and the situation in the Balkans preceding the War of 1914 may be found in Dr. Alfred Fischel's *Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919.

[66] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1925, p. 303.

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nant admonitions of Ruskin, the anxiety of Renan, not to mention the period of the *fin de siècle* and the modern European pessimism of Spengler's jeremiads?

This does not change the fact, however, that in the light of the events of the 19th century and especially in the light of the present tragedy of Poland, the Polish "message to Europe" becomes particularly poignant. History has repeated itself almost textually with, however, one exception—that the present betrayal of Poland by the Western democracies has followed an even more cynical and indecent road. And has not the same fate overtaken Yugoslavia?

Of course in all Slavophil and Panslavistic texts one may find political hyperbole, exasperation, dreams, vain hopes, idealistic universalistic conceptions of fraternity of nations, beliefs in international justice, aspirations for national independence, imperialistic pretensions, the ideological play with various historical traditions. But as I stressed above, all that Slavic polyphony starts and ends with a dirge for Europe. Indeed we see all of them—those brilliant prophetic writers like Tyutchev, Dostoevsky, Mickiewicz, Krasiński, and so many others, involved in a great ideological battle, in which clashed their most essential thoughts about humanity and civilization, as if petrified by the same vision of Europe which we find in Herzen's terrible suggestions about "*facies hippocratica*, by which the doctors recognize that death has raised its scythe."

14. Post Scriptum

I mentioned on several occasions the fact that we are witnessing a kind of revival of the Panslavistic conceptions under the Soviet sponsorship. Indeed there was created in Moscow in 1941 a new Panslavic committee under the chairmanship of a general, A. Gundorov, and with representatives of different Slavic nations as its members. This committee started to organize first of all Panslavic meetings in Moscow. Then later Panslavic meet-

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186* 668 ● 575 ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* 829 651 It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyclopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic conceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

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glorifying the outstanding Soviet generals and, of course, men like Molotov, Lenin, "the great son of Slavdom"; and Stalin, "son of the nations of Russia"—it would be rather difficult to make of him a Slav. There are also articles about different manifestations of old and modern Slavic culture, biographies of great Slavs, predominantly Russian. Copernicus, one of them, had a rather amusing fate under the pen of Soviet clerks writing under the *Politburo's* dictates. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1926) calls Copernicus the "greatest Polish scholar"; and later, its *Great* brother leaves the reader with the impression that he was a German Scholar. Finally, the review *The Slavs* emphasizes his Polish patriotism and the prestige of the University of Cracow!

The activities concerning the further organization of Panslavic meetings abroad have not been abandoned. On the contrary, recently at the end of 1946 there again took place such meetings in America and in Belgrade with the predominant role played by official and unofficial agents and delegates of Soviet Russia, ending with telegrams and addresses expressing loyalty to Soviet Russia, sent to Stalin, Kalinin, and Molotov. All these facts must lead one to the conclusion that we are witnessing here the organization of a new International, of a Slavic International, parallel to the Comintern, and that the numerous ramifications of this organization outside of Russia represent nuclei of a Slavic fifth column in the countries which are outside of the immediate zone of Soviet influence. Within this zone Russia is much less interested in the development of the Panslavic movement through any special organizations, as she has there at her complete disposal the governments of the countries which are under Russian political domination. I do not have to stress what I mentioned before—that Stalin has in his hands means of Russification about which Goldmann and Katkov could only dream.

Not without interest is the fact that the Inter-Slav Bureau of Foreign Contacts had during the war six sections—for the United States, Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand, the Near and Middle East, and Great Britain. A seventh

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of